a flag with the number 76, but never one with the num ber 96 upon it before." After some further convers tion on this triffing point, he continued with earn ness: "Do you know that something serious is about to take place?" Devany disclaiming the knowledge of to take place? Prevally disclaiming the above coge of any graver impeding crisis should be family dinor, the other went in to inform him that many of the slaves were "detormized to right themselves." "We are determined," he added, "to slave off our bondage, and for that purpose we stand on a good foundation; many have joined, and if you will go with me, I will show the list of names, and who will you the man who has the list of names, and who will take yours down.

This startling disclosure was quite too much for De-

This starting disclosure was quite too much for Devany; he was made of the wrong material for so daring a project; his genius was culmary, not revolutionary. Giving some excuss for breaking off the conversation, he went forthwith to consult a five colored man, named Pen il or Pemell, who advised him to warn his master instantly. So he lest no time in telling the secret to he mistress and her young son; and on the return of Colonel Priolean from the country, five days afterward, it was at once revealed to him. Within an hour or two he stated the lacts to Mr. Hamilton, the Intendant, or, as we should say, Mayor. Mr. Hamilton at once summored the Corporation, and by 5 o clock Devany and William were under examination. This was the first warning of a plot which ultimately silled Charleston with terror. And yet so thorough and so secret was the organization of the negroes, that a forteight passed without vicking the eligbrest information beyond the very if the which was obtained from the etwo. William Paul was, indeed, put in confinement, and coon gave evidence incul, ating two laves as his em, hyere. Mingo Harth and Peter Poyas. But those men, when an ested, behaved with such perfect colless, and thened the charge with such entire levity—their tranks and premises, when searched, were so innoceat of all alarming contents—that they were soon discharged by the Wardens. William Paul st length became alarmed for his own safety, and began to let out further facts piecement, and to incul nie other men. But rome of those very men came voluntarily to the hancedant, or bearing that they were

st length became allowed for his own safety, and began to let out further facts piecemeal, and to inculpate other men. But rome of those very men came voluntarily to the Incodant, on bearing that they were suspected, and incignantly offered themselves for examination. Purpled and be wildered, the manicipal government kept the thing as secret as possible, placed the city guard in an efficient condition, provided sixteen hundred romas of bull cartridges, and ordered the centucle and patrols to be armed with leaded markets. "Such had been our faucied security, that the guard had previously gone on duty without maskets and with only seach bayonets and bladgeons." It has since been asserted, though perhaps on questionable authority, that the Secretary of War was informed of the plot, even including some details of the plan and the leader's name, before it was known in Charleston. It so, he otherly disregarded it; and, indeed, so well did the regree play their part, that the whole report was eventually disbelieved, while as was afterward proves) they went on to complete their secret organization, and hatened by a fortuight the appointed day of attack. Unfortunately for their plans, however, another betrayal took place at the very last mome t, from a different direction. A class leader in a Methodist charter had been persuaded or bribed by his master to procure further dis losaires. He at length e me and stated, that about three months before, a man named Rolls, slave of Gov. Bennett, had communicated to a frience of all the fact of an intend of insurrection, and had said that the time fixed for the before, a man named Rolls, slave of Gov. Bennett, had communicated to a friend of all the fact of an intended insurrection, and had said that the time fixed for the outbreak was the following Sunday right, June 16. As this conversation took all con Friday, it gave but a very short time for the city nuthratities to not, especially as they wished neither to endanger the city nor to

ally as they wished nether to endanger the dry nor to alarm it.

Yet so cautionsly was the game played on both sides, that the whole thing was still kept toushed up from the Charleston public; ned some members of the City Government aid not fully appreciate their danger till they had passed it. "The whole was concealed," wrote the Governor afterward, "until the time came; but scoret preparations were made. Saturday night and Sunday morning pass d without demonstrations; doubts were excited, and counter orders issued for diminishing the guard." It afterward proved that these preparations showed to the slaves that their plot was betrayed, and re saved the city without public slavm. News, a, er correspondence soon was follof the was betrayed, and re saved the city without public slarm. News, a, er correspond nee soon was full of the story, each i dormant of course hinting planely that he had been behind the scenes all along, and had with-held it only to granty the authorates in their policy of silence. It was "now no longer a secret," they wrote, sadding, that for five or six weeks but little attention sadding, that for five or six weeks but inthe attention band been paid by the commandity to these runners, the City Council having kept at care ally to themselves until a number of sa plot at slaves had been arrested at This refers to too pursoers who were esized of June 18, an arrest win h killed the plot, and left only too

examined and disc arge i nearly three weeks before.

It is a matter of demonstration, that, but for the mil-It is a matter of demonstration, that, that it is a matter of the attempt would have been made. The ringleaders had actually met for their hand arrangements, when, by comparing notes, they found them lives folied; and within an their week they were prisoners on trial. Nevertheless, the plot which they had I id was the most chaborate insurrectionary project ever formed by American chaves, and came the nearest to a terrible success. In bolaness of conception and thoroughness

American slaves, and came the heavest to a terrible success. In bolaness of conception and thorogoness of organization there has been nonling to compare with n, and it is worth while to dwell somewhat apen its details, first introducing the dra native personar.

Demmark very has come very near figuring as a revolutionat in Hay h, instead of South Carolina. Capt. Very, an old resident of Challeston, commanded a stip that traded tetween St. Thomas and Cape Frances, during our kevolutionary was, in the slave-transportation line. In the sear 1.81 he took on board a cargo of three handred and minety slaves, and saided for the Cape. On the passage, he and his officers were much attracted by the beauty and intelligence of a boy of fourteen, whom they manimously acopted into the cabin as a pet. They gave him new clothes and a new name (Telémaque), which was afterward graducinely corrupted into Telmax and Demmark. They amused themselves with him until their arrival at Cape Françaic, and then, "having no ne for the boy," sold their pet as if he had been a measy or a monkey. Captain Verey sailed for St. Thomas, and presently making another trip to Cape Françaic, was attributed to hear from his consignee that Telemaque would be returned on his banes as being "missions"—not in theology nor in morels, but is body—subject to capil pit fits, it fact. According to the custom of that place, the boy was examined by the city physician, who redured Captain Versey to take him back; and Demmark served him fatthrathy, with no trouble from epilepsy, for twenty years, traveling all over the work with him, and bearing to speak various languages. In served him faithfully, with no trouble from epilepsy, for twenry years, traveling all over the world with him, and learnd g to speak various languages. In 180 , the drew a pilze of \$1,560 in the Last Bay Street Lottery, with which he bought his freedom from his master for six hundred dollare—much less than his maket value. From that time, the efficial reportants had for physical strength and energy. "Among those of his color he was looked up to with awe and respect. His temper was impetuous and domineering in the extreme, qualifying him for the despetic rule of which he was ambitious. All his passions were un-

respect. His temper was impetuous and domineering in the extreme, qualifying ham for the co-petic rule of which he was ambribane. All his passions were ungovernat Is and savage; and to his numerous wives and children he displayed the haughty and capricious cruelty of an Eastern basiow."

"For several years before he disclosed his intentious to any one, he as pen a to have been constantly and assidiated by the colored population against the white. He reindered himsel perfectly lamiliar with all those parts of the Scriptures with he thought be could pervert to his purpose; and would readily quote them, to prove that Slavery was contrary to the laws of God—that slaves were bound to attempt their enamelyation, however shocking and bloody neight be the consequence—and that such efforts would not only be pleasing to the Almighty, but were absolutely enjoined and their success predicted in the Scriptures. His favorite texts, when he addressed tuose of his own color, were Zecharish xiv. 1-3, and Joshua vi. 21; and in all his conversations be identified their situation with that of the Israelites. The number of inflammatory pamphle to on Slavery brought into Charleston from some of cur eister States within the last four years (and once from Slavery brought into Charleston from some of cur eister Leone), and distributed among the colored population of the city, for which there was a great facility, in consequence of the unrestricted intercourse allowed to persons of color between the different States in the Union, and the specetees in Congress of those opposed to the admission of Missouri into the Union, periaps garbied and mi-represented, furnished him with simple means for himsming the minds of the colored population of this state; and by distorting cerasion parts of those speeches, or selecting from them

SLAYE CONSPIRACY IN SCUTII CAROLINA

From The Atlantic Monthly.

DENMARK VESEY.

On Saturday afternoon, May 25, 1822, a slave named Devany, belonging to Colonel Priodeau of Charleston, South Carolina, was sent to market by his mistress the Colonel being absent in the constry. After doing his errands he strolled down upon the wharves, in the enjoyment of the magnificent wealth of leisure which usually characterizes the "house-servant" of the South when once beyond hail of the street door. He presently noticed a small ve-sell ying in the stream, with a peculiar flag flying; and while looking at it he was accosted by a slave named William, belonging to Mr.

John Paul, who remarked to him: "I have often seen a flag with the number 76, but never one wighthe numeter be would artfully introduce some bed for mark on Slavery; and sometimes, when from the characterize when have of the sength every opportunity of entering into conversation with white persona, when they could be overheard by the groce near by especially in grog chope, during which conversation he would artfully introduce some badd remark on Slavery; and sometimes, when from the character is a strong with he found be much be still the conversation has a supply in the character in the conversation has a supply in the dear the fails of the street door. He presently noticed a small ve-sell ying in the stream, with a peculiar flag flying; and while looking at it he was accosted by a slave named William, belonging to Mr.

John Paul, who remarked to him: "I have often seen a flag with the number 76, but never one with the number when the flag with the flag had a much be still the conversation has a conversation when the flag had a much be still the conversation had a character in a conversation with white person, he would remark to the mark on the character in a conversation with white person, he would remark to the flag of the same that the conversation with white person, he would remark to the flag of the same that the conversation had a character in a conversa mark on Slavery; and so netimes, when from the character be was conversing with be found to might be still beider, he would go so far, that, had not his declarations in such size of in such situs ions been clearly proved, they would a arcein such situs ions been clearly proved, they would a arcely have been credited. He continued this course until
some time after the commencement of the last Wilder;
by which time be tad not only obtained incredible inmore manny persons of color, but many feared him
more than their owners, and, one of them declared,
even more than his God."

It was moved accept his chart.

more than their owners, and, one of them declared, even more than his God."

It was proved against him that his house had been the principal place of meeting for the conspirators, that all the others habitually referred to him as the leader, and that he had shown great address in dealing with different temperaments and overcoming a variety of sorn, les. One witness testified that Vescy had read to him from the Hille about the deliverance of the Children of Israel; moster, that he had read to him a speech which had been delivered "in Congress by a Mr. King" on the subject of Slavery, and Verey had said that "this Mr. King was the theck man's triend; that he, Mr. King, had eed and he would continue to speak, write, and publish pamphlo's against Slavery the longest day he lived, until the Southern States consent d to emancipate their slaves, for that Slavery was a great di grace to the country." But among all the reports there are only two sentences which really reveal the secret soul of Denmark Vescy, and show the impulses and motives. "He said to did not go with Creighton to Africa, because he had not a wilt; he wanted to stay and see what he ended do for his follower columns." The other takes us still nearer home. Monday Gell stated in his confession, that Vescy, on first houseling the last he had not he wanted to be said that was said fied creatures." The other takes us still nearer home. Menday Gell stated in his confession, that Verey, on first broading the plan to him, said "he was sait fied with his own condition, being free, but, as all his chilling his condition, being free, but, as all his chilling his condition in the home being free had sould be done

It is strange to turn from this simp, ciatement of a It is strange to turn from this simp, statement of a perhaps intelligent preference, on the part of a parent, for seeing his edisping is a condition of freedom, to the native actorishine sto of his pages. "It is difficult to imagine," says the sentence finally passed on Denmark Vesey. "what infatuation could have promited you to attempt an enterprise so wild not victuary. You were a free man, comparatively wealthy, and enjoyed every confect compatible with your situation. You had, therefore, much to risk and little to gain." Is Shevery, then, a thing so intrice cally detestable, that a man thus favored will engage in a plan thus despense merely to recore his children from it? "Vesey said the negroes were living such an abominable life, they ought to rise. I said, I was living well, Le said, though I was, others were not, and that 'twos such fools as I that were in the way and would not help them, and that after all things were well he would mark me." "His general conversation," said another winess, a while boy, "was about religion, which he would apply to Slivery; as, for instance, he would speak of the creation of the world, in which he would say all men had equal rights, blacks as well as white, etc.; all its religious remarks were mingled with Slavery." And the firamess of this purpose did not leave him, even after the betrayal of his cherished plans. "After the plot was directored," said Mooday Gell, in his confession. "Vesey said it was all over, unless an

ery. And the framess of this purpose did not leave him, even after the betrayal of his cherished plans. "After the plot was discovered," said Monday Gell, in his confession, "Versey said it was all over, unless an attempt were made to rescue those who might be condemned, by rusling on the people and taving the prisoners, or all dying together.

The only person to divide with Vesey the claim of Indership was Peter Poyas. Ve sy was the missionary of the cause, but Peter was the organizing mind. He kept the register of "candidates," and defided who should or should not be enrolled. "We can't live so," he often remaded his confederates; "we must break the yoke." "God has a hand in it; we have been neeting for four years and are not yet betrayed. "Peter was a shiper peter, and a slave of great value. He was to be the milit by leader. His plans showed some natural generalship; he arranged the night-stack; he planned the enrolment of a meanted troop to scour the effects and he had a list of all the shorts where are and true. the enrolment of a mounted troop to scour the etreets; and he had a list of all the shops, where are s and a munition were kept for sale. He voluntarily undermunition were kept for sale. He voluntarily under-took the management of the most difficult part of the enter rise—the capture of the main guard-house—and had designed himself to advance alone and surprise the sentinel. He was said to have a magnetism to bis eye. had pleaged himself to advance alone and surprise the sentinel. He was said to have a magnetism in his eye, of which his contederates stood in great awe; if he once got his eye open a man, there was no resisting it. A white witness has suce narrated, that, after his arrest, he was comised to the floor in a cell, witn another of the compirators. Men in authority came and sought by premi es, threats, and even tortures, to accompliate the names of other accomplices. His companion, wearied out with pain and suffering, and stimulated by the hope of saving his own hife, at has began to vield. Peter raised himself leased upon hi chlow, looked at the poor follow, saying quietly, "Die like a man," and instantly lay down again. It was enough; not another word was extorted.

One of the most notable individuals in the plot was a certain Jack Purceli, commonly called Gullah Jack—Gullah signifying Augola, the place of his origin. A conjurer by profession and by lineal heritage in his own country, he had resumed the practice of his vocation on this side the Ad-antic. For fifteen years be had winded in cereit an innurse influer ce among a suble

wielded in screet an immense influe ce among a sable constituency in Charleston; and as he had the reputation of being invulnerable, and of teaching invulnerability as an art, he was very good at the ting up recruits for insurrection. Over those of Angolese descent especially he was a perfect king, and made them join in the revolt as one man. They met him the revolt as one man. They met him oin in the revolt as one man. They met him anthly at a place called Buikley's Farm, selected be join in the revolt as one man. They het him mentily at a place called Buildey's Farm, selected because the black overseer on that plantation was one of the initiated, and because the farm was accessible by water, thus emailing them to clude the partol. There they prepared cartridges and pikes, and had primitive banquets, which assumed a melodramatic character under the inspiration guidance of Jack. If a fowl was privately rousted, that mystic individual mattered incantations over it, and then they all grasped at it, exclaiming, "Thus we pull Buckrato pices!" He gave them parched corn and ground nuts to be eaten as internal safeguards on the day before the outbresk, and a consecrated a lath, or crab's claw, to be carried in the mouth by each, as an annulet. These rather questionable means secured him a power which was very unquestionable; the witnesses examined in his presence all showed dread of his conjurations, and referred to him indirectly, with a kind of awe, as "the little man who can't be shot."

to him indirectly, with a kind of awe, as "the little man who can't be shot."

When Gullah Jack was otherwise engaged, there seems to have been a sort of deputy seer employed in the enterprise, a blind man named Pullip. He was a pracher, was said to have been born with a caul on his head, and so claimed the gift of second-sight. Their adherents were brought to his house for ghostly connect. "Why do you look as timerous?" he said to William Garner, and then quoted Suripture, "Let not your heatts be troubled." Finst a blind man should know how he tookket was beyond the philosophy of the visitor, and thus piece of rather cheap ingenuity carried the disk.

ied the day.

Other leaders were appointed also. Monday Gell

visitor, and this piece of rather cheap ingeniney carried the day.

Other leaders were appointed also. Monday Gell was the serite of the enterprise. He was a native African, who had learned to read and write. He was by trade a harness-maker, working chiefly on his own account. He confessed that he had writeen a letter to President Boyer of the new black republic; "the letter was about the sufferings of the blacks, and to know if the people of St Domingo would help tiem if they made an effort to tree themselves." This epistle was sent by the black cook of a Northern schooner, and the envelope was addressed to a relative of the hearer.

Tom Russell was the anmorer, and made pikes "on a very improved model," the official report admits. Polydore Faber fitted the weapons with handles. Bacchus Hammett had charge of the fine-arms and amountion, not as yet a laborious duty. William Garner and Mingo Harth were to lead the borse-company. Lot Forrester was the courier, and had done, no one ever knew how much, in the way of collisting country negroes, of whom Ned Bennett was to take command when cubisted. Bing the Governor's servant, Ned was probably credited with some official at perferone. These wege the officers: now for the plan of attack.

It was the custom then, as now, for the country negroes to flock largely into Charleston on Sunday. More than a thousand came, on ordinary occasions, and a far larger number night at any time make their appearance without exercing any suspicion. They gathered in, especially by water, from the opposite ada of Ashley and Cooper Rivers, and from the neighboring islands; and they came in a great number of canoes of various sizes—many of which could carry a hundred men—which were ordinarily employed in bringing agricultural products to the Charleston market. To get an approximate knowledge of the number, the City Government once ordered the persons arriving to be counted—and that during the progress of the trials, at a time when the negroes were rather fearful of coming into town—and it into town—and it was found that, even then, there were more than five hundred visitors on a single Senday. This fact, then, was the essential point in the plan of fusure-tion. Whole plantations were found to have been callsted among the "candidates," as they were termed; and it was proved that the city negroes

who lived occared the place of meeting had agreed to comeed these confederates in their homes to a large severat, on the myst of the place of the pl who lived nearest the place of meeting had agreed to conceal these confederates in their houses to a large extent, on the night of the proposed outbreak.

The details of the plan, however, were not rushly constitued to the mass of the confederates; they were known only to a few, and were finally to have been manufed after the evening prayer-meetings on the appointed Souday. But each leader had his own company existed, and his own work marked out. When the clock struck 12, all were to move. Peter Poyas was to lead a party ordered to assemble at South Bay, and to be joined by a force from dames I-land; he was then to nor. If no amassize the mescal and guard-house opposite St. Michael's Church, and den ha sufficient number to out. If all white citizens who should appear at the alarmages. A Second body of regroes, from the country and the Nock, headed by Neal Bennett, was to assemble on the Nock and size to assemble there. A third was to meet at Governor Bennett's Mills, under command of Rolla, and, after pathing the city, or be posted at Cannon's Bridge, thus preventing the inhabitants of Cannonsborough trox entering the city, or be posted at Cannon's Bridge, thus preventing the inhabitants of Cannon's Bridge, thus preventing the inhabitants of Cannonsborough trox entering the city, or he posted at Cannon's Bridge, thus preventing the inhabitants of Cannonsborough trox entering the city, or he posted at Cannon's Bridge, thus preventing the inhabitants of Cannonsborough trox entering the city, and then march down; and a tank the upper guard-house. A fifth, composed of country and Seck negroes, was to assemble at Bolkley's Farm, two niles and a talf from the city, seize the upper powder-magazine, and then march down; and a sixth was to assemble at Denmark Vessey's and obey his orders. A reventh detachment, under Gallah Jack, was to assemble in Boundary stoet, at the bend of King street, to capture the array of the Neck Company of militis, as detoked. Meanwhile a horse company, consisting of many draymee, he alers, a

were to be seized, and it these, if the worst came to the worst, those most deeply incolpated could set sail, bearing with them, perhaps, the spoils of shors and of banks. It seems to be aranized by the official marnitive that they night have been able, at that season of the year, and with the aid of the fortification on the Neek and around the harbor, to retain possession of the city for some time.

So unsuspicious were the authorities, so unprepared the citizens, so open to attack by the city, that nothing seemed necessary to the success of the insurgents but organization and arms. Indeed, the plan of organization early covered a supply of zems. By their own contributions they had secured enough to strike the first blow—a few hundred pikes and daggers, together with ewords and gunss for the leaders. But they had catefully marked every place in the city where weapons were to be obtained. On King-street Road, tey and the mondripal limits, in a common wo dan shop, were by an authorized the arms of the Neck company of milit is, to the number of several hundred saund; and these were to be secured by Bacchus Hammett, whose master kept the establishment. In Mr. Dequercon's shop there were deposited for sale as many more weapons; and they had noted Mr. Schirer's shop in Queen street, and other gamenities' establishments. Finally, the State Arsenal in Meeting street, a building with no defer see except ordinary wooden door, was to be seized early in the outbre &. Provided, therefore, that the first moves proved successful, all the rest appeared sore.

Very little seems to bave been said amony the constraints in regard to any plane of riot and debauchery, either, their testing the contraction in regard to any plane of riot and debauchery, either, their

all the rest appeared sore.

Very little seems to have been said among the conspirators in regard to any plane of riot and debauchest, advectment to the capture of the city. Either their imaginations did not dwell on them, or the wirnesses did not dure to give testimony, or the authorities to print it. Death was to be dealt out, comprehensive and terrible; but nothing more is mentioned. One prisoner, Rolla, is reported in the evidence to have dropped hints in regard to the destiny of the women; and there was a runor in the newspapers of the time, that be, or some other of Governor Bennett's slaves. dropped hints in regard to the destiny of the women; and there was a runor in the newspapers of the thos, that he or some other of Governor's daughter, a years girl of sixtere, for his wife, in the event of succes, but this is all. On the other hand, Denmark Vesey was known to be for a war of immediate and to'al externization, and when some of the company opposed killing "the ministers and the women and children," Vesey read from the Scriptures that all should be cut off, and said that "it was for their a day not to leave one white skin alive, for this was the plan they pursued at St. Domingo." And all this was not a mere dream of one leavely enthusiast, but a measure which had been maturing for four full years a rong a veral confeder tes, and had been under discussion for five menths among multitudes of init ted "candinates."

As actal with slave insurrections, the best men and those most trusted were decreast in the plat. It lia was the only prominent constitute who was not an active conclusionabler. "Most of the 11 gleaders," says a Charlesion letter-writer of that day, "were the allers or class-leaders in what is called the African Society, and were considered faithful, honest fellows. Indeed, many of the owners could not be convinced, till the fellows confessed themselves, that they were concerned, and that the first object or all was to kill their masters." And the first object or all was to kill their masters." And the first object or all was to kill their masters." And the first object or all was to kill their masters." And the first object or all was to kill their masters." And the first object or all was to kill their masters." And the first object or all was to kill their masters." And the prior official report declares that it would not be difficult to assign a metive for the insurrectioning, "if it had not be en distinctly proved, that will securely an exception, they had no individual hards in

would not be difficult to assign a mode for the insurrec-tionists, "if it had not been distinctly proved, that with some elyan exception, they had no individual hardst ip-to complain of, and were among the most humanely treated negroes in the city. The facilities for combin-ing and confederating in such a scheme were amply afforded by the extreme indulgence and kindness which characterizes the dome-tic treatment of our slaves. Many slave-owne s among us, not satisfied with min-istering to the wants of their domestics by all the comnisguided benevolence have not only permitted their instruction, but lent to such efforts their approbation

instruction, but lent to such efforts their approbation and appliance."

"I sympathize most sincerely," says the anonymous auther of a pamphlet of the period, "with the very respectable and prous clergymen whose heart must still bled at the recollection that his confidential class-leader, but a week or two before his just conviction, had received the communion of the Lord's Supper from his hand. This wretch had been brought up to his pastor's family, and was treated with the same Carlishim attention as was shown to their own chibren. "To us who are accustomed to the base and prover had ingratizated of these people, this fill return of kindness and confidence is not surprising; but they who are ignorant of their real character will read and wonder."

ignorant of their real character with read and wonder."

One demonstration of this "Christian attention" had lately been the closing of the African Character which, as has been stated, most of the leading revolutionists were memorers—on the ground that it tended to spend the dail gerous infection of the alphabet. On January 15th, 1-21, the City Marshal, John J. Lefar, had notified "niciters of the gone and others who keep night and Sunday-schools for slaves, that the education of such persons is forbidden by law, and that had notified "ministers of the goned and others who keep hight and Sanday-schools for slaves, that the education of such persons is forbidden by law, and that the City Government feel imperiously bound to enforce the jenalty." So that there were come special as well as general grounds for disaffection among these ungrateful tavolites of Fortune, the claves. Then there were harded dangers. An absurd report had somehow ariset—since you cannot keep men ignorant without making them unremonable also—that on the enough Fourth of July the whites were to create a false alarm, and that every black man coming out was to be killed, "in order to thin them;" this being done to prevent their joining an imaginary army supposed to to on its way from Hayri. Others were led to suppose that Congress had ended the Missouri Compromise discussion by making them all free, and that the law would protect their liberty, if they could only secure it. Others ag in were threatened with the vengence of the conspirators unless they also joined; on the right of attack it was said, the intrinted would have a countersign, and all who did not know it would share the fate of the white. Add to this the reading of Congressional speeches, and of the repione magnatic of revolution to be found in the Bible, and it was no wonder if they for the first time were roused, under the energetic I adership of Vessey, to a full conactousness of their own condition.

"Not only were the leaders of good character and

wonder if they for the first time were roused, ander the energetic I adership of Vessy, to a full consciousness of their own condition.

"Not only were the leaders of good character and very much indulged by their owners, but this was very generally the case with all who were convited—many of them possessing toe highest confidence of their owners, and not one of bad character." In one case it was proved that Vessey had forbidden his followers to trust a certain man, because he had once been seen intoxicated. In another case it was shown that a slave named George had made every effort to obtain their meetings as a talkative fellow who could not be trusted—a policy which his levity of manner, when examined in court, fully justified. They took no women into connecl—not from any distrust apparently, but in order that their children might not be left uncared-for, in one of defeat and destruction. House-sevenats were rarely trusted, or only when they had been car fully sounded by the chief leaders. Peter Poyas, in commissioning an agent to culist men, give him excellent cautions: "Don't mention it to those waiting-men who receive presents of old coats, etc., from their masters, or they'll betray us; I will speak to them." When he did speak, if he did not convince them, he at least frightened them; but the chief reilance was on the slaves hird out and therefore more uncontrolled, and also upon the country negrees.

The same far-eighted policy directed the conspirators

The same far-eighted policy directed the conspirators to disarm suspicion by peculiarly obedient and orderly conduct. And it shows the precaution with which the thing was carried on, that, although Peter Poyas was proved to have had a list of some each hundred persons,

Charleston at that time. During the excitement and the trial of the supposed constructors, rumor, roclaimed all, and doubtless a ore than all, the horrors of the plot. The city was to be fixed in every quarter, the sreamal in the homed ate vi inity was to be broken open and the arms distributed to the insurgents, and a universal massacre of the white inhabitants to take place. Nor did there seem to be any doubt in the mind of the people that such would actually have been the result. Nor did there seem to be any doubt in the mind of the people that such would actually have been the result, had not the plot fortunately been detected before the time appointed for the outbreak. It was believed, as a matter of course, that every black in the city would join in the insurrection, and that, it the original design had been attempted, and the city taken by surprise, the negroes would have achieved a couplete and easy victors. Nor does it seem at all impossible that such

the negroes would have achieved a conclute and easy victory. Nor does it seem at all impossible that such might have been or yet may be the case, if any well-arranged and resclute rising should take place."

Indeed, this universal admission, that all the slaves were ready to take part in any despends enterprise, was one of the most startling aspects of the affair. The authorities say that the two principal State's evidence exclude that "they never spoke to any person of color in the subject, or knew of any one who had been spoken to by he other leaders, who had withheld his assect." And the consultators seem to have been his asset. And the conspirators seem to have been perfectly satisfied test all the remaining slaves would enter their ranks upon the slightest success. "Let us perfectly satisfied that all the remaining slaves would enter their ranks upon the slightest success. "Let us assemble a sufficient number to commence the work with spirit, and we'll not want men; they'll fall in belind as fast enough." And as an illustration of the readiness, the official report mentions a slave who had belonged to one master for sixteen years, sustaining a high character for fidelity and affection, who had twice traveled with limit through the Northern States, resisting every soil ination to escaps, and who yet was very deeply convolve the probable destruction of the woole family with whom he lived.

One singular decomstance followed the first rumors

with whom he lived.

One singular circumstance followed the first rumors of the plot. Several white men, supposed to be of low and unprincipled character, at once began to make interest with the supposed leaders among the slaves, either from genitic sympathy, or with the intention of betraying them for money, or of profiting by the insurrection, should it succeed. Four of these were brought to trult; but the official report expresses the opinion that many more night have been discovered but for the inadmissibility of slave testimony against whites. Indeed, the evidence against even there four was insufficient for a capital conviction although one was overheard, through atratagen by the line data himself, and arrested on the spot. This man was a Scotchman, another a Spaniard, a third a German, and the fourth a Carolinian. The last bad for thirty years kept a shop in the neighborhood of Charleston. He was proved to have asserted that "the negroes had as much right to fight for their linerty as the white people;" had offered to head them in their enterprise, and had said that in three weeks he would have two thousand men. But in no case, it appears, did these men obtain the combinence of the slaves, and the whole plot was conceived and organized, so far as appears, without the slightest cooperation from any write nears.

The trial of the conspirators began on Wednesday, Jane 19. At the request of the Intendant, Justices Kennedy and Parker summoned five freeholders

The trial of the conspirators began on Wednesday, Jone 19. At the request of the Intendant, Justices Kennedy and Parker summoted five freeholders (Messes, Drayton, Heyward, Pringle, Legaré and Turnbull), to constitute a Court, under the provisions of the set "for the better ordering and governing textors and other slaves." The Litendant Lid t e case before them, with a list of prisoners and witnesses. By a voice of the Court, all spectators were excluded, except the owners and counsel of the slaves concerned. No other colored person was allowed to enter the juli, and a strong guard of soldiers was kept always on duty around the building. Under these general arrangements, the trials proceeded with elaborate formulity, though with some vaniations from ordinary usage, as was, indeed, required by the statute.

frate formality, though with some variations from or-dinery nege, as was, indeed, required by the statute. For in thace, the law provided that the testimony of any Irdian or slave could be received, authorit onto, against a slave or tree colored person, although it was not valid, even under outh, against a white. But it is sons in the community, they were bound to conform their proceening to its provisions, which depart in many essential features from the principles of the common law and some of the seitled rules of evisence. The Court, however, determined to adopt those rules whenever they were not repugnant to nor expressly excepted by that statute, nor inconsistent with the heal situation and folicy of the State, and I id down for their own government the following regulations: First, that no slave should be tried except it the present of the courses, and that rotice should ence of his owner or his counsel, and that notice should be given in every case at least one day before the trad; second, that the testimony of one witness, unup orted by additional evidence or by circumstan sup orted by additional evidence or by circumstances, should lead to no conviction of a capital nature; third, that the witness should be confronted with the accused and with each other in every case, except where testimony was given under a solemn plede that the names of the winnesses should not be civalved—as they declared, in some instances, that they apprehended being murdered by the blacks, if it was was known that they had volonited their evidence; fourth, that the prisoners might be represented by consist, whenever this was requested by the owners of the claves, or by the charges themselves if free: fifth, the statements or

teered their extances, on the claves, or by the owners of the claves, or by the prisoners themselves, if free; fifth, the statements or decrease of the accused should be heard in every case, and it ey be permitted themselves to examine any witnesses they thought proper."

It is singular to observe how entirely these rules seem to concede that a slave's life has no sort of value to himself, but only to his master. His master, not he himself, must choose whether it be worth while to employ connecl. His master, not his mother or his wife, must be present at the trial. So far is this carried, that the provision to exclude "persons who had no particular int rest in the accused," seems to have excluded every a knowledged relative they had in the world, and admitted only those who had invested in them so many dellars. And yet the very first section of that part of the statute under which they were tried hays down an explicit recognition of thir humaity. "And whereas natural justice torbids that any press, of what condition soever, should be conmanity. "And whereas natural justice torbids that may prom, of what condition seever, should be condemned anteard." So thoroughly, in the whole report, are the ideas of person and chattel intermingled, that, when Gov. Bennett perinons for indigation of rentance in the case of his slave Battesu, and closes, "I ask this, gentlemen, as an individual incurring a severe a d distressing loss," it is really impossible to decide whether the predominant emotion be affectional or financial.

or mancial.

It is a matter of painful necessity to acknowledge It is a matter of painful necessity to acknowledge that the proceedings of all elave tribunals justify the honest admission of Gov. Adams of South Carolina in his legislative message of 1855: "The administration of our laws in relation to our colored population, by our courts of magistrates and freeholders, as these courts are at present constituted, calls loudly for reform. Their decisions are rarely in conformity with justice or humanity." It is trial, as reported by the Justices themselves, seems to have been no worse than the average—jerhaps better. In all, thirty-five were sentenced to death, thirty-four to transportation, twenty-seven acquitted by the Court, and twenty-five discharged without trial, by the Committee of Vigilance, making in all one hundred and twenty-one.

by the Committee of Vigilance, making in all one hundred and twenty-one.

The sentences pronounced by Judge Kennedy upon the leading rebels, while paying a high tribute to their previous character, of course bring all law and all Scripture to prove the magnitude of their crime. It is a mefancholy fact, he says, "that those servants in whom we reposed the most unlimited confidence, have been the principal actors in this wicked scheme."

Then he rises into exchest garcule. "Are you incapa-Then he rises into erforces appeals. "Are you incapa-ble of the heavenly influence of that Gespel, all whose paths are peace? It was to reconcile as to our destiny on earth, and to enable us to discharge with fidelity all

To these reasonings the prisoners had, of course,

in which his who be soul was embarked. His countenance and behavior we verified some when he received his sentence, and his ca. It words were, on retiring 'I suppress you'll let me, we may wir and family before I die?' and that not in a supplicating toco. When he was a ked, a day or two after, if it was possible he could wish to see his mest, or and family mordered, who had treated him so hisally, he only replied to the question by a smile. Monday's behavior was not peculiar. When he was before the Court, has arms were folded; he heard the testimony g, wen against him, and received his sentence with the un not framess and composure. But no description can see, arisely convey to others the impression which the trial, defence, and appearance of Gullah Jack made to those who witnessed the workings of his cunning and rade underess. When arrested and brought before the Court, in company with anoth or African named Jack, the i woperty of the restate of Pritchard, he assumed so much viginorance and looked and acted the fool so well that a time of the Court could not believe that this was the 1 veromancer who was except after. This conduct he co utinued when on his and acted the fool so well that so the of the Court could not believe that this was the a veronancer who was sought after. This condend the continued when on his trial, until he can the winesses a too heard the testimony as it progressed against hom, when, in so instance, it is constemned was lighted up as it by lightning, and his wildness and vehemence of gesture, and the malignant glance with which he eyed a tree, and the malignant glance with which he eyed a tree witnesses who appeared against him, all indicated the savage, who, indeed, had been cought but not tame. This courage, however, soon forcook him. When he received sentence of death, he savage ly implored that a fortnight lenger night be allowed him, and then a week longer, which be continued carnestly to soli it until he was taken from the court-room to his cell; and when he was carried to execution, he gave up his spirit without firmness or composure."

which he coart-room to his cell; and when he was carried to execution, he gave up his spirit without firmness or composers."

Not so with Denmark Vesey. The place of years were frustrated; his own life and liberty were thrown away; many others were sacrificed through the leadership; and one more added to the list of unsuccessful insurrections. All these disastrous certainties he faced calmly, and gave his whole mind composedly Jo the conducting of his defense. With his arms tightly folded and his eyes fixed on the floor, he attenticely followed every item of the testimony. He heard the vitnesses examined by the Court, and cross examined by his own consel, and it is evident from the marrative of the preciding Judge that he showed no small shill and polity in the starching of sex-examination which he then applied. The lears, the feelings, the consciences of those who had betroyed him, all were in turn appealed to; but the facts were too overpoweing, and it was too late to sid his comrades or himself. Toen turning to the Court, he shillfully availed himself of the point which had so much impressed the community, the latting ic improbability that a man in his position of freedom and prosperity should sacrifice everything to tree other people. If they thought it so incredible, why not give him the benefit of the incredibility? The act being, as they stated, one of infatuation, why convict him of it on the bare word of men who, by their own showing, had not only shared the infatuation, but proved trailors to it? An ingenious defense—indeed, the only one which could by any possibility be suggested, anterior to the days of Choate and some ambulism; but in vain. He was sentenced, anner in two howers, that the showed any sign of emotion. Then the tears case into his eyes. But he said not another word.

The executions took place on five different days, and, bad as they were, they might have been work.

that te showed any sign of emotion. Then the tears cao e into his eyes. But he said not another word.

The executions took place on five different days, and, bad as they were, they might have been worse. After the imaginary Negro Plot of New-York, in 1741, thirteen negroes had been judicially burned alive: two had suffered the same sentence at Charleston in 1898; and it was undoubtedly some mark of progress that in this case the gallows took the place of the flames. Six were hanged on July 23, upon Blake's lands, near Charleston—Denmark Vesey, Peter Poyns, Jerse, Ned, Rella, and Battean—the last three teng slaves of the Governor him-

mark Vesey, Feter Poyas, Jerse, Sen, Landau, and team—the last three being slaves of the Governor himself. Gullah Jack and John were executed "en the Lines," near Charleston, on July 12th, and twenty-two more on July 20th. Four others suffered their fate on July 30th; and one more, William Garner, effected a temperary escape, was espurred, and tried by a different court, and was finally executed on August 2th.

The sif-control of these mon did not desert them at their execution. When the six leaders suffered death, the report says, Peter Poyas repeated bis charge of secrecy. "Do not open your lips; die silent, as you shall see me do—and all obeyed. And though afterward, as the particulars of the plot became better known, there was less inducement to conceal, yet every one of the thirty-five seems to have met his fate bravely, except the conjurer. Governor Bennett, in this letter, expresses much dissati-faction at the mall amount learned from the participators. "To the last hour of the existence of several who appeared to be constituous actors in the the paters. "To the last hoar of the existence of several who appeared to be constituous actors in the drama, they were pressingly importuned to make fasther confessions"—this "importuning" being more clearly defined in a letter of Mr. Ferguson, owner of cuor was compelled to admit at het tout the real y er-

he informers.

It is to be remembered that the plot failed because at man unanthorized and incompetent, William Paul, undertook to make enlistments on his own account. He blundered on one of precisely that class of menfavored house-servants—whom his leaders had expressly reserved for more skillful manipulations. He being thus detected one would have supposed that the discovery of many accounting the would at once have followed. being thus detects done would have supposed that the discovery of many accomplices would at once have followed. The number enlisted was counted by thousands; yet for twenty-nine days after the treachery, and during twenty days of official examination, only fifteen of the conspirators were ferrest-dont. Meanwhile the informers names had to be concealed with the utmost secreey—they were in peril of their lives from the slaves—William Faul sarvely days do go beyond the development the names of innormal with a secree. slaves—William I and is arresty districted to go beyond the object of important with sees examined in June were still supressed in the official report published in October. That a conspiracy on so large a scale should have existed in embryoduring four years, and in an active form for several months, and yet have been so well manusced, that, after actual of the publisher were again thrown of their and yet have been so well managed, that, after actual betrayal, the authorities were again thrown off their goard and the plot nearly brought to a bend again— this certainly shows extraordinary ability in the lead-ers, and a talent for concerted action on the part of slaves generally with which they have hardly been condicate.

And it is also to be noted, that the range of the con And it is also to be noted, that the range of the con-spiracy extended far beyond Charleston. It was proved that Frank, slave of Mr. Ferguson, living nearly forty miles from the city, had boasted of having enlisted four plantations in his immediate neighborhood. It was in evidence that the insurgents "were trying all round the country, from Georgetown and Souter round about to Combahee, to get people;" man after the trials, it was satisfactorily established that Vesey "had been in the country as far north as South Sautee, had been in the country as far north as South Sautee, "had been in the country as far north as South Sautee, and southwardly as far as the Euhaws, which is between seventy and eighty miles from the city." Mr. Ferg. son himself testified that the good order of any gang was no evidence of their ignorance of the plot, since the behavior of his own initiated slaves and been unexceptionable, in accordance with Vesey's directions.

With such an organization and such materials, there was nothing in the plan which could be pronounced incredible or impracticable. There is no reason why they should not have taken the city. After all the Governor's entreaties as to moverate language, the anthorities were obliged to admit that South Carolina had been saved from a "hor-rith cut-attactrophe." "For although success could not possibly have attended the constitutions, yet, before their suppression, Charleston would probably have been warped in flames, many valuable lives would have been sacraficed, and an immerse loss of projectly sustained by the citizens, even though no other distressing occurrences were experienced by them, will the plantations in the lower country would have been disorganized, and the agricultarial laterests have austained an enormous loss." The Northern journals had already expressed still greater anxieties. "It appears," and The New-York Commercial Advertises, "that, but for the timely disclosure, the wholesof Unit State would in a few days have witnessed the hegrid With such an organization and such materials,

what, but for the timely disclosure, the wholesof that State would in a few days have witnessed the hogaid ejectacle once witnessed in St. Demingo.'

My friend David Lee Child has kindly companiented to me a few memoranda of a conversation held long since with a free colored man who had worked in Vessey's shop during the time of the insurraction, and these generally confirm the official narratives. "I was a young man then," he raid, " and, owing to the policy of preventing communication between free colored people and thaves, I had bride opportunity of ascertaining how the slaves let about it. I know that several of them were abused in the etreet, and some put in prison, for appearing in such-cloth. There was an ordinance of the caty, that any slave who were a badge of mourning should be imprisoned and flogged.

They generally got the law, which is thirty-nine hashes, but sometimes it was according to the decision of the Court." "I heard, at the time, of arms being builed in coffice at Sullivan's I-land." "Io the time of the insurrection, the slaves were cried in a small room, in it e jail where they were confined. No colored person was all awed to go within two squares of the prison. Those two squares were follow the treeps, five thousand of whom were on dury day and night. I was told Verey said to those that tried him, that the work of insurrection would go on; but as note but white persons were peraitted to be present, I cannot tell whether he said it."

During all this time there was a grarded silence in the Charleston journal, which strongly contrasts with the extreme publisher at last given to the testimony. The Notional Intelligence: at Washington, passed lightly over the affair, and deprecated the publication of particulars. The Northern editors, on the other hand, eager for items, were constantly complaining of the reserve, and calling for further intelligence. "The Charleston papers," said The Hasford Courant of July 16, "bave been silent on the subject of the insurrection, but letters from this city state that it has created much alarm, and that two brignides of troops were under arms for some time to suppress any risings that might have taken place." "You will doubless bear," wrote a Charleston correspondent of the same paper, just isofore, "many reports, and some exaggerated ones." "There was certainly a disposition to revolt, and some preparations made, principally by the plantat on regrees, to take the city." We hoped they would progress so in as to enable us to ascertain and parish the ringleaders." "Assure my friends that we cell as perfect security, although the number of nightly guards and other demonstrations may induce a belief among strangers to the contrary."

The strangers would have been very blind strangers, if they what it has a contract to the same contract.

guards and other demonstrations may induce a belief among strangers would have been very blind strangers, if they had not been more influenced by the actions of the Charlestonians than by their words. The original information was given on May 25. The time passed, and the plot failed on June 16. A plan for its revival on July 2 proved abortive. Yet a letter from Charleston in The Hartford Convent of August 6, represented the panic as unabated: "Great preparation to goard against any attempt of the same kind again; but we have no apprehension of its being repeated." On August 10, Governor Bennett wrote the letter already mentioned, which was printed and distributed as circular, its object being to deprecate undue aborn. "Every individual in the State is interested, whether in regard to his own property or the reputation of the State, in viving no mere importance to the transaction than it justly merits." Yet five days after this—two moeths after the first though a printed and passed—a refentorement of United States troops arrived at Fort Montrie. And during the same month several different attenpts were made by small parties of armed negroes to easture the mails botween month several different attenates were made by small parties of armed regrees to capture the mails between Charleston and Savannah, and a reward of \$4.0 was offered for their derestion.

The first official report of the trials was prepared by

parties of armed negroes to assume the mants between Charleston and Savaromh, and a reward of \$4.0 was offered for their detection.

The first official report of the trials was prepared by the Intendant, by request of the City Council. It passed through four editions in a tew montathe first and fourth being published in Charleston, and the second and third in Boston. Being, however, but a brief parapolet, it did not entisty fixe public coniosity, and in October of the same year (1822), a larger voluce appeared at Charleston, edited by the magistrates who precided at the trials, Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker. It contains the evidence in full, and a separate narrative of the whole affair, more caudid and lacid than any other whica I have found in the newspapers, or pumplier of the day. It exhibits that races of all qualities in a slave-to, monity, a willingness to look flots in the face. This narrative has been faithfully followed, with the aid of such croes lights as could be secured from any other quarter, in preparing the pre-cut history.

The editor of the first official reporters ked his brains to discover the special cause of the revolt, and never trusted himself to allude to the general one. The negroes rebelled because they were chelled by Congressional cloquence, or they were calcied by Congressional cloquence, and as being allowed to learn to read, "a unaguided benevolence," as he pronounces it. So the Baptiat Convention seems to have thought it was because they were not Episcopalians. It never seems to occur to any of thece spectators that these jeaple rebelled simply because they were shall am any as skillful as Demank Vesey could kindle up these dasky powder magazines; but, after all, the permanent peril hay in the powder. So long as that existed, everything was incendiary. Any torn serap in the street might contain a Misconi Compronise speach, or a report of the last battle in St. Demingo, or one of those able letters of Boyer's which were winning the praise of all, or one of John Kandohn's st

whole system of slave-labor in towar, and proposing that all slaves in Charleston should be sold or transferred to the plantations, and their places supplied by white I shore. It is interesting to find many of the lacts and arguments of "Help-or's Inquenting Crisa" anticipated in his cornagementariet, whiten under the pressure of a crisis which had just been so marrowly evaded. The author is described in the preface as "a soldier and a put not of the flex bothion, whose name, cil we feel ourselves at 1 berty to me it, would at amp a peculiar weight and value on his opinions." It was comme ally attributed to General thomase Finckneys.

Another pamphlet of the period, also published in Charleston, recommended as a practical cure for issur-vection the copious administration of Episcopal Charles sevil es, and the produbition of negroes from attending Fourth-of sluly celebrations. On this last point it is more schelt text than most Pro-Slavery arguments.

The celebration of the Fourth of July belongs exclusively to the white population of the United Sates. The American Revolution was a faming-quarret and a cylindric remained, and must remain, unchanged. They have no more to do with the relevantion of that day than with the landing of the Piglious on the rock at Plymouth. It therefore resums to me improper to all we those people to be present on these conscious. In our specches and orations, much, and continues more than the politically necessary, is said attout personal liberty, which negro anotters know not how to apply, except by running the parallel with their own condition. They, therefore, mibble false notions of their own personal light, and give reality in their minds to what has no real existence. The peculiar state of our community must be steadily kept in view. This, I am gradified to learn, will in some measure be promoted by the institution of the South Carolina. The property is the decided from without and from wildle, for the record biject, the Grand Jury, about the same time, presented as a grinvance